3: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and consuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La trezena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcujntli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mjsmas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mjsmo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elections, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

796 [314] [289] 778 [565] [666] [431] 721

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: anssi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras gragerias, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

[776] [463]

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinta decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y désto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y á preguntar por la fortuna buena o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y también a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de su hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

777 787 565 852 [759]

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres viam que su hijo era de edad para

584

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

721 chamber to thank him for so great a favour and the order was given that the youth[1] who was in Montezuma's company, who was also his nephew and the brother of Cacamatzin, should be raised to the Kingship of Texcoco.

721 I have already said that he had come here to seek the
666 protection of his uncle when his brother wished to kill him, and that he was the next heir to the kingdom of Texcoco. So as to make the appointment with all solemnity and with the consent of all the city, Montezuma summoned before him the principal chieftains of the whole province and after fully discussing the matter, they elected him as King and Lord of that great city, and he was named Don Carlos.

721 After all this was over, when the Caciques and Kinglets, nephews of the great Montezuma, namely the Lord of Coyoacan, and the Lord of Iztapalapa, and he of Tacuba saw and heard of the imprisonment of Cacamatzin, and learnt that the great Montezuma knew that they had joined in the conspiracy to deprive him of his kingdom and give it to Cacamatzin, they were frightened and did not come to pay their court to Montezuma as they were used to do. So with the consent of Cortés, who clamoured and persuaded him to order them to be seized, within eight days they were all in prison and attached to the great chain, and our Captain and all of us felt not a little relieved.

000 The reader who is interested may see what lives we were leading, for every day they were planning to kill us and eat our flesh, if the great mercy of God which always followed us had not come to our rescue, and but for that good Montezuma who always gave a favourable turn to our affairs. Just think what a great Prince he was who, although imprisoned, was so faithfully obeyed, that all was once more made peaceful, and those chieftains were prisoners.

[1] Cuicuitzcatzin.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Therefore, near the eighth decade of the fourteenth century, or about thirty years after the settlement of Mexico, the office of "chief of men" (Tlacatecuhtli) appears to have been established.[48] This is commonly heralded as the creation of monarchy, thus abolishing the basis of organization, or tribal society itself. It is however overlooked that only an office was created, and not a hereditary dignity with power to rule.[49] Its first incumbent, "Handful of Reeds" (Acamapichtli), was duly elected, and so were his successors.[50] We have already seen that the Mexican family itself was so imperfectly constituted as to preclude the notion of a dynasty, and it was therefore, as we shall further establish, to the "kin" that the so-called succession or rather the choice was limited.[51] We do not know, nor would it be safe to guess, *which*

Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, p. 159; cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 187). *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, pp. 190 and 191). It was a military measure.

[48] The dates are variously given. *Durán* (Cap. VI, p. 53), says 1364, or rather he states that "Handful of Reeds" died at the age of 60, and that his death occurred 1404. He had been elected when 20 years old, therefore forty years previous to the latter date, or in 1364, A. D. *Vetancurt* (Parte IIa, trat. I, cap. XI, p. 270), says 3d of May, 1361, or 1368. According to *Sahagun*, and from his lists of Mexican "Kings" (Lib. VIII, cap. I, pp. 369-371), it would be about 1369, but (Lib. VIII, cap. V, p. 390), he says he was elected in 1364. *Veytia* (quoting also *Carlos de Siguenza*), says (Lib. II, cap. XXI, pp. 186 and 188), 1361. *Clavigero* (Lib. III, cap. I, p. 190. Appendix to 1st Vol., p. 596. Vol. II, Sec'd Dissertation, Cap. II, p. 327), says 1352. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 148), 1373. In the "*Real Ejecutoria*" (Col. de Doc., Vol. II, p. 9), a date 1384 appears, but this date is of doubtful origin. The "*Codex Telleriano-Remensis*" (Vol. I, Kingsb., Plate I, and Explanation, Vol. VI, p. 134), says in the year 11. cane, ("Acatl") or 1399. *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, cap. VI, p. 356), 1350. *Prof. Valentini* ("The Mexican Calendar-Stone," p. 108), 13, Acatl, or 1375.

In regard to the title of "Tlacatecuhtli" compare "*Art of War*," (p. 122, note 104). There is a singular analogy between it and the title of "*Great War Soldier*," given by the Iroquois confederacy to its head-war-chiefs ("*Ancient Society*," p. 146). Under-"men" the Mexicans also understood "braves." Therefore "chief of the braves" also.

[49] In a general way, the following passages are interesting. *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 488), "because in these times the brothers, sons of the King inherited one another, although from what I have noted of this history, there was no heredity nor succession, but that only those which the electors chose, whether brother or son, nephew or cousin, in the second degree, of him who died, and this order it strikes me they carried (on) in all their elections, and so I believe that many of those who clamor and pray for lordships ("señoríos") because of their fathers having been Kings and Lords at the time of their infidelity do not, as I understand, justly claim ("no piden justicia"). For according to their ancient law there were rather elections than successions and inheritances, in all kinds of lordships." I shall give the full text of this very important passage further on. *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 336). "Of the Mexican republic I confess this manner of succession, and that sometimes they were elected without regard to anything save their personal qualification."

[50] *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII, cap. XXX, p. 319).

[51] Compare *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, pp. 486 and 489). *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVII, p. 336). The former says in addition to what is quoted in note 49. "In all the other lordship I only found but elections and the will of the electors, and thus they never could fail to have a King of that lineage, even to the end of the world, because if to-

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 643 666 was the particular "calpulli" of Mexico who furnished the Mexican head-war-chiefs down to 1520 A. D.

174 643 Analogous to the New Mexican pueblo, the tribe of Mexico had, from that time on, its supreme council and finally two executive head-chiefs; for with the creation of the military office of "chief of men," the "Snake-woman" rose correspondingly in importance.[52] No change in that organization took place until the Spanish conquest although within the period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (approximately) thus indicated, we find, at three distinct epochs, mention of virtual changes or subversions of the aboriginal institutions of the Mexican tribe.

174 631 The first one of these critical dates agrees with the third decade of the fifteenth century, or the time when, through a well executed dash, the Mexicans overthrew the power of the Tecpanecas on the mainland.

This successful move, perhaps originally conceived in self-defence, finally brought about the confederacy of the "nahuatl" tribes of Mexico, Tezcuco, and of Tlacopan. We have nothing to add to our first picture of this military partnership, as drawn in "Tenure of Lands."[53] Still the event deserves special men-

day they elected the brother, to-morrow they elected the "grandson, and the day after the nephew, and thus they went through the whole lineage without any end." This is a plain description of the succession of office in the kin. Torquemada is about equally explicit, and this agreement between two authors who represent antagonistic tribal traditions, is certainly of great weight. To this should be added the statement of *Sahagun* (Vol. II, p. 318), "and (they) selected one of the most noble ones of the lineage ("lineâ") of the lords post." Even the series of contradictions of *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," pp. 13-20), contain a plain description (if attentively studied) of succession in the kin, and not in the family.

[52] At the time Francisco Vasquez de Coronado reached and conquered New Mexico, its sedentary Indians were governed by a council of old men, and besides they had governors and captains. This is explicitly stated by *Pedro de Castañeda y Nagera*, ("*Relation du Voyage de Cibola, entrepris en* 1540,"), who went with Coronado in 1540, in the French translation by Mr. Ternaux-Compans, 1838 (Cap. XI, p. 61), about Tuscayan Cibola, although flatly contradicted again by himself (Part. II. cap. III. p. 184), in regard to Cibola. *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XL. p. 661), mentions the "mandòn" (commander) and after him what he calls a "crier" "y despues de èl, es el que pregona, y avisa las cosas, que son de Republica, y que se han de hacer en el Pueblo." The same author is also very explicit (Lib. XI, cap. XVII, p. 337), when he distinctly states: "El Govierno de los del Nuevo-Mexico parece de Senado, ù de Señoria," mentioning also the two other officers.

For the actually prevailing governmental system of the New-Mexican Pueblos the sources are very numerous. I simply refer to *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. I, pp. 546 and 547), *W. W. H. Davis* ("*The Spanish Conquest of New-Mexico*," 1869, p. 415, note 4), *Oscar Loew* ("*Lieutenant G. M. Wheeler's Twelfth Expedition nach New-Mexiko und Colorado*, 1874," in Petermann's "*Geographische Mittheilungen*," Vol. 22, p. 212). All the other main sources it would be useless to enumerate.

[53] Pp. 416, 417, and 418, and notes 61 to 70 inclusive. Also note 4 of this paper. In re-

X 787 Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the fourteenth sign, called One Dog. This, it was said, was 771, a good day sign; and it was claimed that it was the 666 day of Xiuhtecutli, whom they called Tlalxictentica.[1] They observed a very great feast day for him. And at this time the rulers were elected.[2]

Injc cempoalli on macujlli capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc matlactetl onnavi machiotl, in jtoca ce itzcuintli: inin qujlmach qualli tonalli, ioan qujl itonal catca, in xiuhtecutli: in quitoaia Tlalxictentica, cenca vei ilhujtl quichioaia: ioan ypan motlatocaaltiaia in tlatoque.

X 787 —then set in the one named One Dog. This, they 771 said, was a good day sign. At this time, they dedi- 776 cated the day to [the god of] fire, called Xiuhtecutli. 778 They formed his image there in his temple. There 782 they made offerings to it; before it they decapitated quail and spread incense. They adorned and bedight it in all manner of paper array. The fabrication [of the paper articles] was in charge of those called paper-cutters and designers. They provided it with feathers; they scattered feathers over it; provided it with various kinds of costly feathers and dispersed a variety of them over it. And they provided [the paper array] with green stones. They called the [ceremony] *nextlaualli*. All the food [and array of] Tlalxictentica[3] they burned before him.

Niman oalmoquetza in jtoca, ce itzcuintli: injn quitoaia qualli tonalli, vncan quitonaltiaia in tletl, in jtoca Xiuhtecutli: qujtlaliaia yxiptla in vmpa itcupan: vncan quitlamanjliaia, ixpan tlacotona, copaltema, quichichioa, qujcecencaoa, in jaquich amatlatquitl, inmac iecauja in motenecoaia amatecque, amatlamatque, qujviiotiaia, qujvitzetzeloa, qujnepapanviiotia, tlaçoiujtica qujnepapanivitzetzeloa: ioan quichachalchiuhiotia, quitocaiotia nextlaoalli, itlaqual in tlalxictentica, much ixpan quitlatiaia:

782 And everywhere, in each family which was rich and had become wealthy, those of Pochtlan and Amantlan,[4] they made [the goo] very important. Thus they did him honor: food and drink were provided. There was rejoicing. There were banquets. Very early in the morning, when it was still very early dawn, they burned the paper array. As was said, thus they fed the fire. Incense went with and accompanied [the offerings]. One basket at a time, or two baskets at a time, they cast into the fire clean, white incense. And they decapitated quail. It seemed that before the hearth, they kept fluttering and beating their wings. Their blood was scattered by their fluttering, so that the earth before the hearth was struck in various places. They sputtered and poured forth their blood. Likewise they first made a libation of wine before the hearth, and later at each of the four corners of the hearth they made libations.

auh in noviian cecencalpan, in netlacamachoia, in necujltonoloia, in pochtlan, in amantlan: cenca qujveichioaia injc qujmaviztiliaia, tlatlaqualoloia, aatlioaia, netlacamacho, necoanotzalo, oc ueca ioac, cenca oc tlaujncalpan in qujtlatiaia amatl, in mjtoa ic qujtlamaca tletl, qujvicatiuh, qujtocatiuh in copalli, ceccn petlacalli, ovn petlacalli in contepeoa tleco, chipaoac, intac copalli: ioan qujacotona çoçoltin, iuhqujn tlecujlixquac tlipatlaca, tlapapatlaca, ieço nemamacaoca, tlalli ic ncujujteco tlecujlixquac qujtzitzicujtza, qujnonoqujn in jmeręo: ioan no achto tlecujlixquac qujtotoioa in vetli: auh çatepan tlecujlnacazco nauhcampaixti qujtotoiaca:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"Este decian: ser el signo del dios del fuego, llamado Xiuhtecutli, o Tlalxictentica."*
2. *Ibid.*: *"los señores, y principales, que eran elegidos, para regir la republica: hazian la fiesta de su election."*
3. *Ibid.*: *"ponen de la mañana, quemavan las ofrendas de papel, y copal, decian: que con esto comia, dauà de comer al fuego."*
4. Motolinía, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 64, 68: *calpolli* of merchants, feather workers, etc.